NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER

ADMIRAL DUPONT'S ATTACK ON CHARLESTON.

The "Stimers Court of Inquiry" having adjourned, it is no longer necessary to keep back a report of such of the proceedings as may interest the public. The subject immediately before the Court was a personal difference between Admiral Dupont and Chief Engineer Stimers. In investigating it, however, several important facts as to the value of our iron-clad vessels were elicited, and we copy from the New York Times a report of the evidence relating to them. It may not be out of place to say, that nearly all the professional testi-mony given corroborates the views of Captains Drayton and Worden, the only witness materially differing from them being a gentleman of the press. Annexed is the most interesting portion of the record :

Capt. John L. Worden, who commanded the original Monitor in her fight with the Merrimac, was examined. TESTIMONY OF CAPT. WORDEN.

Question. Were you engaged in the attack on the batteries and forts at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 7th

day of April, 1863? Answer. I was, commanding the United States ironclad steamer Montauk. Q. Who at the time was the Commander-in Chief of

the South Blockading Squadron; and who was the commander of the naval forces that made the attack on Charleston ? A. Rear Admiral S. F Dupont.

O. Do you know Chief Engineer Alban E. Stimers; and if yea, how long have you known him? A. I do know him, and have known him about two

Q. Have you ever said to Mr. Stimers that the attack on the 7th of April, 1863, ought to have been renewed, or words to that effect !

A. No. sir; hever. Q. Lid you not ever state to Mr. Stimers that the iron-elad vessels engaged in making the attack on the ferts at Charleston on the 7th of April, 1863, were in fit condition to renew the attack, or words to that effect?

A. No. sir, I never said any thing of the kind; I only know that my vessel was in condition to renew the attack Mr Stimers that I recollect Q. Did you ever say to Mr. Stimers, or in his presence,

that the commanders of the said iron-clad vessels were, after the attack aforesaid, hot for renewing the engagement or words to that effect? A. No. sir: never.

A. N.), sir; never.

Q. Were, or not, the Monitors or iron-clad vessels, in as good condition on Wednesday, the 8th day of April, 1863, after they had undergone some slight repairs, to renew the attack as they had been to commence it on the day be-

A. I didn't know any thing about the condition of the other vessels from my own observation; it was reported by the commanders of some of them that their vessels were very considerably damaged—that some of their guns were disabled; the impression left upon my mind was that thry were not in a condition to renew the attack next day; I am convinced, however, that with the battering they had received they could not have been in as good condition, after repairs, to resist shot as they were before they went into the engagement on the 7th; every shot received by a vessel of that description must weaken her to a greater or less degree, and render her less capable of resisting shot. I might say, however, that I went aboard the Weehawken for a very few moments; I did not examine her critically; (it was within a day or two after the fight;) she had received a shot on the side upper works—the side armor—which had penetrated the five thicknesses of iron and stripped them off, leaving the wood backing bare; and also a shot which had penetrated through the armor of the deck, and oken through the wood; and the jacket of her smoke-stack had been penetrated by a shot : I mean by the scket the impregnable part of the smoke stack; these are all the injuries I examined, as far as she was concerned : she had received other shot, which had affected other parts of her armor somewhat, but not so decidedly as those I Q. Had the injuries to the Weehawken which you enu

merate been repaired at the time you were on board of A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Was or not the attack made on the forts and batteof Charleston on the 7th of April last an earnest one?

A. Very decidedly, I should say.
Q. Could or not, in your opinion, the monitors have gone into Charleston in spite of guns, torpedoes, and ob structions, either on the 7th day of April last, or on the following day, had the attack been renewed?

State if you know any reason why the attack of the 7th of April, 1863, on the forts of Charleston should not have been renewed on the 8th?

A. I am and was of the opinion that a renewal of the

A. I think not, sir.

attack on the 8th would have been likely to have resulted the weight of the enemy's fire on the 7th, and lo-king at were of a very form dabl acter. I thought that any attempt to break through the obstructions would have got the propellers of the ships involved in the net-works it was known the enemy had there; they would have become unmanageable and so injured by torpedoes that they would have sunk in the harbor or have fallen into the enemy's hands; and I did not think the risk of such a disaster was justifiable under the circumstances; rebel iron-clads were lying behind the obstructions; any of our vessels that had become disabled would have been exposed to attack from them.

Q. Did Rear Admiral Dupont do or say any thing which led you to think he was prejudic d against them on the 7th of April last ? If yes, relate what he then said or did which led you to think him prejudiced against them. A. He has never said or done any thing which would lead me to believe he had any prejudice against them. Q. Were or were not the various commanders of the iron-clads engaged in the attack of the 7th of April last called together on board the Ironsides on the 8th of April

last by Admiral Dupont for any purpose? A. They were not, to my knowledge.

Question by the accused. You have stated that upon the side armor of the Weehawken the shot had penetrated through all the five inch plates, exposing the wooden backing will you please state whether you observed particularly wiether more than one shot had struck so near this torn place as to have had an effect upon it, and will how near the top of the vessel this shot or shots struck, and whether, in your opinion, another shot striking the same place would have penetrated the ves-

A. I did not see that there was more than one shot : I supposed it to be the effect of only one shot, without examining critically; it truck near the top of the side armor near the deck: I do not think another shot striking on the same place would have penetrated, it would not have broken through the side of the vessel; the parts are too well braced; it would have probably penetrated sufficiently to have torn up the deck plating to a considera

Question by the accused. Was there any informal meet ing of the commanders of the iron-clads on board the Admiral's vessel on the evening of April 7? If yes, did said commanders report verbally to the Admiral the general condition of their several versels?

A. There was no meeting of the commanders of the iron-clads in a body; I went on board myself to report the condition of my ship, and I think I met some of the commanders of the irou-clads who were there for the same purpose; I merely stated the condition of my ship, and I suppose the others did the same.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12. Edward Mars, coppersmith and engineer, a passenger on the Arr go with Mr. Stimers, gave some imperiant tes-

SATURDAY, JUNE 13. Capt. Percival Drayton, commander of the iron-clad Passaic in the attack on Charleston, was examined.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT, DRAYTON. Q. Do you know Chief Engineer Stimers, and if yea, how long have you known him ?

A. About six months.
Q. Did you ever say to Chief Engineer Stimers that the attack on the forts and batteries on Charleston Harbor, made on the 7th of April, 1863, ought to have been

renewed, or words to that effect? Q. Did you ever say to Chief Engineer Stimers that the iron-clad vessels engaged in making the attack aforesaid were in a fit condition to renew the attack, or words to

A. No. Q. Did you ever say to Chief Engineer Stimers, or i his presence and hearing, that the commanders of said iron-clad vessels, after the attack aforesaid, were hot for

renewing the engagement, or words to that effect? Were or were not the iron-clads in as good condition Q. Were or were not the iron-class in as good on Wednesday, the 8th day of April, 1863, after they had been some slight repairs, to renew the attack as they had been

to commence it the day before? A. Very lar, indeed, from it.
Q. Could the Monitors, on the 7th day of April, 1863, have gone into Charleston in spite of guns, torpedoes, and obstructions, or on Wednesday, the 8th, had the attack

A. I think not; certainly not, according to my opinion.
Q. Have you ever heard Rear Admiral Dupont say, or
has he, to your knowledge, ever done any thing to lead you
to think that he was prejudiced against the Monitors on
the 7th day of April, 1:63?

nothing to show that he was prejudiced : I do | which they are sustained. not think he had a high opinion of them; he could not have JULY 29, 1863.

ries at Charleston on the 7th of April, 1863, an earnes

Q. Did the iron-clad Passaic, of which you had con mand, receive any, and if so, what injuries during the attack of the 7th of April aforesaid?

A She did receive many injuries. The three principa ones were: the disabling of the 11 mch gun by a shot on ones were: the disabiling of the first gut by a shot the turret, which bulged the turret in and jammed the car-riege in such a way that it took twenty four hours to get it into a condition to work; another shot broke off a piece of the ring under the turret, which was caught in some of the machinery and stepped the turret for some time, and caused it to work badly for some time after; a third shot mashed in the pilot house and forced up the cover some three inches, so as to lay open the inside to shot and ren-der the p sition of those who were managing the ship one of considerable exposure, as they were to a certain extent considerable exposure, as they were to a certain extent uncovered. A number of other shots were received on the turret, side armor, and other parts of the vessel. These Q. Do you know why the attack of the 7th was not re

A. I have always understood that the iron-clads were not in a condition to renew.

Q. Did you at any time after the engagement of the 7th
of April make a report to Rear Admiral Dupont of the of April make a report to Rear Admiral Dupont of the condition of your vessel? If yea, when did you make such report?

A. I made a verbal one in his presence on the evening of the engagement, and a written one a day or two after.
Q. Did you ever hear Rear Admiral Dupont say any thing, or have you observed him do any thing, which led you to infer that he was unwilling to give the Monitors a fair trial in the attack on Charleston?

A. Never; quite the contrary.
Q. Do you know any thing further respecting the specifications of charges made by Admiral Dupont against Chief Engineer Stimers? If yea, state the same as fully as though you had been particularly interrogated thereto.
A. I did not hear any of the remarks said to have been made about the Arago, and I think I have nothing further

Have you any reason to believe, from any thing said or done in your presence by Admiral Dupont, that the failure of Admiral Dupont to renew the attack of the 7th of April, 1863, on the forts at Charleston was owing to A. No, I haven't.

Question by the accused. From what direction would a shot necessarily have come to have entered the pilot-house of the Passaic after the cover had been raised three inches

on one side, as you have described.

A. A horizontal shot, nearly, I think, would have kno the cover off, and I think a nearly horizontal shot would have entered; it might have gone in in pieces, and it might have entered whole—that is, if the shot had struck from above; I mean nearly horizontal with the cover.

THE KENTUCKY PLATFORM.

The importance of the position which, in the evenly palanced state of parties, the delegation from Kentucky are likely to hold in the next House of Representatives, gives interest to the political complexion of the members elect from that State, who, with the exception of Gen. Green Clay Smith, elected from the Covington district. and perhaps a single other member, belong to what is called the "Union Democracy." As we have elsewhere explained, the position of the "Union Democracy" of Keutucky is substantially identical with that of the Northern Democrats who are represented by Governor Sey mour, of New York. Some misapprehension as to the views of the "Kentucky Union Democracy" has doubtless arisen from what purports to be a speech made by Gen. Bramlette, their candidate for Governor, as reported in a Republican paper of Cincinnati. The accuracy of that report was immediately discredited by tien. Bramlette who, in a letter under date of last July 3d, addressed to the journal in which this incorrect version of his remarks originally appeared, thus restated his position and that of the party he represented:

"I am made to say, in reference to the war policy of the Administration: 'While Kentucky expressed no opin-ions, either dissenting from or approving these measures,' &c. At Carlisle, and in every speech made by me else where, I stated, with all the point and distinctness I could that the 'Union Democracy' of Kentucky condemned, in the strongest terms, all the radical measures of the war policy of the Administration, and were pledged to use all eaceful and legitimate means to correct them; that they held the Government to be right, and the best Government in the world, and that it should not be overthrown because of any obnoxious measures or policy of any Administra-tion. That they hold that there is a marked distinction between any Administration of the Government and the Government itself. The one is transient—of short duraon, and may be all wrong; the other was formed 'to endure forever," and is all right.

"I have said in every speech, without exception, and have been particular so to do, that I gave my full and un reserved assent to the platform of the 'Union Democracy dopted at Louisville, in convention assembled, on the 18th

'I have in every speech sought to impress the public mind that if we failed to correct these evils through the medium of the ballot box, which was uncertain in our gan and Robinson, and to myself the week before these present condition, we would sweep away emancipation, confiscation, negro regiments, and all other like measures, by carrying out our second resolution; by 'crushing the present causeless and wicked rebellion' and 'restoring the National authority over all the revolted States.' That crushing the rebellion would end the war, and sween away all war measures; that this is a certain remedy; that 'crushing' the rebellion would restore the Constitution in its full vital action over all the States and Terri'ories, and thus put an end to all war measures and war policies.
"Again, I am made to say, in reference to the Presi-

dent's emancipation proclamation: 'All Territories were excepted where it could not be used to effect some useful purpose in suppressing the rebellion, and, for my part, I would say, if emancipation will effect any thing down there, go ahead. Neither the words nor the thoughts were ever mine. I have never believed any useful purpose could be effected by it; on the contrary, evil, and only evil; and, so far from saying 'go ahead,' have ever insisted, most earnestly, upon a reversal of all such measures as in conflict with the Constitution and tending only to evil. And this, with all other radical measures, I stand with the Democracy pledged to use all peaceful and legitimate means to correct. As the omissions and errors which ! have herein corrected would subject me to the charge of making one speech inconsistent with every other of my platform and my whole life, I request you to give this a place in your next issue."

The following letter of the Hon, BRUTUS J. CLAY, the member elect from the district lately represented by Mr. Crittenden, in accepting the nomination tendered to him by the Union Convention in the Seventh Congressional distr ct, sufficiently ascertains the political views of the Union Democracy:"

To the Voters of the 7th Congressional District. In accepting the nomination by the Union Convention as candidate for Congress in the Ashland district, in place of the lamented Mr. Crittenden, it may be proper that I should make a short statement of my political principles in

regard to the present crisis.

I am, and always have been, for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union, and for the vigorous prosecu-tion of the war to subdue the rebellion which threatens their overthrow. If elected, I will vote for the necessary neasures to carry on the war to the extent of the nations power and resources. To my mind, it would be far wiser at once to acknowledge the success of the rebellion, and make a treaty for separation, than to insure its triumple and the degradation of the loyal States by refusing to vote means of sustaining the military strength of the nation At the same time I am opposed to the policy of the Administration as to the abolition of slavery and the enlisting of slaves as soldiers, and while in the State Legislature I ted for the various resolutions which were passed con-

demning those measures.

But I do not regard revolution, or secession, or submistion to the rebellion, as the remedies for that evil policy they being evils incomparably greater. The remedi s are in the Union, and under the Constitution and laws, through the Legislatures and Judicial tribunals. Should the Union be restored, it would be for the courts of the Slave States to decide upon the legal effects of the Presi-

dent's proclamation of emancipation.

Until the Union shall be restored, the rebels, while de predating upon the commerce of the loyal citizens on the ocean, and upon the property of the citizens of Kentucky Missouri, and other loyal States, in their predatory raids cannot rightfully complain that their property in slaves is not respected more than other property by the armies of

tot respected more than other property by the armies of the Union. I am not and have never been in favor of eman-cipation, either gradual, immediate, or compensated. I was a member of the Union Convention which assem-bled in Louisville in March last, and voted for the platform of principles they adopted, and intend, so far as they apply, to be guided by them, should I be honored with eat in Congress.

I should hail with joy any disposition manifested by the people of the rebellious States, or any of them, to return, in good faith, to their lawful allegiance; and in that event would support all measures to facilitate the resumption of

all their rights and privileges under the Constitution.

In the short period before the election it will be impo sible for me to visit the various counties in the district, o to see but few of the voters : but if time allowed it would afford me pleasure to defend and sustain my position before you in public discussion. As this can I thought it better that you should fully and fairly under stand my principles than the argument and reasons by

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GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S LETTER.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. Albany, August 3, 1863

To the PRESIDENT of the United States. SIR: At my request a number of persons have called upon you with respect to the draft in this State, more par ticularly as it affected the cities of New York and Brooklyn. To avoid misapprehension I deem it proper to state my views and wishes in writing.

As the draft was one of the causes of the late riot in the city of New York, and as that outbreak has been urge by some as a reason for its immediate execution in that city, it is proper that I should speak of that event. At the moment when the militia of the city were absent in pursuance of your request, and when the forces of the General Government were withdrawn from its fortifications, leaving it defenceless against any attack from abroad or from riot within its limits, the Provost Marshal commenced the draft, without consultation with the authority ties of the State or of the city.

The harsh measure of raising troops by compulsion has

heretofore been avoided by this Government, and is now resorted to from the belief, on its part, that it is neces sary for the support of our arms. I know you will agree with me that justice and prudence alike demand that this lottery for life should be conducted with the utmost fairness and openness, so that all may know that it is impar-tial and equal in its operations. It is the right of every citizen to be assured that in all public transactions there is strict impartiality. In a master so deeply affecting the per-ons and happiness of our people this called for by

every consideration.

I am happy to say that in many of the districts in this State the enrolled lists were publicly exhibited, the names were placed in the wheels from which they were to be drawn in the presence of men of different parties and of known integrity, and the drawings were conducted in a manner to avoid suspicion of wrong. As the enrollments are made in many instances by persons unknown to the public, who are affected by their actions and who have no voice in their selection, care should be taken to prove the correctness of every step. Unfortunately, this was not done in the district of New York, where the drawing commenced. The excitement caused by this unexpected draft led to an unjustifiable attack upon the enrolling officers, which ultimately grew into the most destructive riet known in the history of our country. Disregard for law, and the disrespect for judicial tribunals, produced their natural results of robbery and arson, accompanied by murderous outrages upon a helpless race; and for a time the very exstence of the commercial metropolis of our country was

In the sad and humiliating history of this event, it is gratifying that the citizens of New York, without material aid from the State or nation, were able of themselves to put down this dangerous insurrection. I do not underrate the value of the services rendered by the military or naval officers of the General Government who were stationed in that city; for the public are under great and lasting ob-ligations to them for their courses, their skill, and their wise and prudent counsels. But they had at their com-mand only a hardful of Government troops, who, alone, were entirely uncaual to the duty of defending the vast

mount of national property which was endangered. The rioters were subdued by the exertions of the city officials, civil and military, the people, the police, and a small body of only twelve hundred men, composed equally of the State and national forces, who availed themselves of the able advice and direction of the distinguished military men to whom I have alluded. It gives a gratifying assur ance of the ability of the greatest city of our continent to vantageous, against an uprising so unexpected, and having its origin in questions deeply exciting to the minds of the great masses of its population. The return from the war of some of the New York militis regiments restored peace and security to the city. I ordered troops from different parts of our State, but I could not get them to the city before the riot was quelled. Neither could the General Government give any substantial aid; it could not even man its own forts, nor had it the means to protect its own arsenal and navy yard against any of the vessels which, at that time, were engaged burning the ships of our merchants almost within eight of our coast. For a time these very fortifications were the chief danger to the harbor of Ne York One thousand men could have seized them all and have used their armaments for the destruction of its ship-

ping and of the city itself.
At the time that this riot took place I was engaged with Senator Morgan and Comptroller Robinson, of this State, on the subject of harbor defences. I placed under the direction of Gen. Wool the unorganized bodies of national volunteers s ill under my command; and I also ordered bod es of the militia from the interior of New York into rangements with him for their rec-ption; but on the 12th instant, the day before the riot broke out, I was requested by Gen. Wool to countermand my orders directing the militia to proceed to the harbor of New York. The reason for this I understand is that the rules of the service of the laws of the United States do not permit the War De partment to accept of the services of troops for special or qualified purposes. The inability of the Government, at that moment to defend its forts or public property, or to g've any substantial assistance in putting down a riot while the militia of the city were supporting the national cause in another field will best be shown by the following letter,

outrages occurred: HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE FAST, New York City, June 30, 1863.

New York City, June 30, 1863.

His Excellency Horatio Sermour,
Governor of the S are of New York.

Sir: Allow me to call your attention to the defenceless condition of the city. I have only five hundred and firty men to garrison eight forts. One-half of these cannot be called artillerists, being very imperfectly instructed in any part of the artillery duty. The Roanoke is ordered to proceed to Hampton Koads, leaving no vessel of war in the harbor or at the dep t that could be available in less than ten days. The militia of this city and Brooklyn have either been or a e being sent to proceet and defend Pennsylvania, who is now paying dear for neglecting to take care of herself by guarding her frontier.

ng her frontier. Is it wise for New York to follow her example by neglecting to protect the city of New York, the great emporium of the country, and of more importance at the present moment to the Government than all other cities under its control? If to the Government than all other cities under its control? If
I had a sufficient number of men to man our guns I might
protect the city from ordinary ships of war, but not from
iron-clad steamers. In our present condition, from want of
men to man our guns, the Alabama, or any other vessel of
her class, might, without fear of injury, enter our harbor and
in a few hours destroy one hundred millions of property.

I have done all in my power to guard against the present
condition of the city, but I have thus far been unsuccessful.

condition of the city, but I have thus far been unsuccessful. I have called the attention of the Mayor, as well as others, again and again to the defenceless condition of the city. The Mayor can do but little, from the fact that the militia have been ordered to defend Pennsy vania. We ought to have one or two iron clad steamers and several gunboats to guard the harbor. These, with men to man the guns of our forts, would be sufficient to protect and defend the city. The company of attillery raised for the forts in this harbor, which I requested your Excellency to turn over to me, has been sent to Pennsylvania. The condition of the city is an invitation to rebels to make the effort to assail it.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

John E. Wood, Major General.

pulation to say that they were able to put it down without aid from any other quarter; to save their city, and service they have already received your thanks and the gratitude of the nation.

However much we may denounce and deplore the violence of bad or misguided men, it would be slike unjust and ungrateful to urge the execution of the draft in any spirit of resentment, or to show any unwillingness to see that the most exact justice is observed in the execution of the measure, and in fixing the amount of the quotas. I am sure you will unite with me in repelling any counsels sugg-sted by excited passions or partisan prejudices. For

The act of Congress providing for the conscription directs that, in determining the quots of men to be turnished by each State, regard shall be nad to the number of volunteers and militia furnished by them respectively since the shall be so assigned as to equalize the number among the districts of the several States, allowing for those already furnished and for the time of their service. I believe that New York is the only Atlantic State, save Rhode Island, new and stronger hold upon the public confidence; it which has furnished her full quota heretofore, and has also the present draft.

But the statement made at the office of the Provosi

Marshal General at Washington, of the amount of this credi. does not agree with that claimed at the office of the Adjutant General of this State. I do not doubt the impar-tiality of Col. Fry, and I believe that the difference of these statements can be reconsiled if an opportunity is given to compare the records of the two officers. I ask that this may be done. After a careful examination I am

Districts. Population. that this may be done. After a careful examination I am satisfied that the quotas now demanded from the Congressional districts at the resumption of the Constitution. Section it will be impossionated in the district, or time sillowed it would sustain my position bethis cannot take place, I fully and fairly undergument and reasons by

BRUTUS J. CLAY.

Brutus J. CLAY.

State and in that event that this may be done. After a careful examination I am that the may be done. After a careful examination I am that the may be done. After a careful examination I am that the may be done. After a careful examination I am that this may be done. After a careful examination I am that this may be done. After a careful examination I am that this may be done. After a careful examination I am that this may be done. After a careful examination I am that this may be done. After a careful examination I am the congressional congressional

the last election, when the vote was very full, it will be seen that the call upon the city district is 5881, upon a vote of 12,363, while upon the country district it is only 2260 upon a vote of 23,165. In two adjoining districts in the city of Brocklyn the discrepancies are equally striking. In that represented by Mr. Odell, with a population of 132,242, the quota is 2697. In the adjoining district, represented by Mr. Kaltfleisch, with a population of 151,951, it is 4146, yet the voters are in Mr. Odell's district 16,421, and in the of Mr. Kaltfleisch, in 15.00.

it is 4146, yet the voters are in Mr. Odel's district 10,421, and in that of Mr. Kalbfleisch, 15,967.

The draft, as at present proposed, will throw upon the eastern portion of the State, comprising less than one-third of the Congressional districts, more than one-half of the burdens of the conscription. This is particularly unjust towards New York and Brooklyn, for they have not only furnished their full proportions heretofore, without counting the number they have given to the navy of the country, but they have been the recruiting grounds of other States, and constant complaints are now made that agents from other States are now employed for that purpose within those cities, and are hiring persons there to act as substitutes, thus reducing still more the number of persons who will be comps lied to meet this undue demand, which obliges them to leave their families and their homes and to peril their lives, if they are less fortunate tha others in their ability to pay the sum fixed as a commuta tion. I earnestly request that you will direct that the en-rolling officers shall submit to the State authorities their lists, and that an opportunity shall be given to me, as Go vernor of this State, and to other proper State efficials, to look into the fairness of these proceedings. Justice to the enrolling officers, to the honor and dignity of the

Government, to the people, who are so deeply inffected, and to the public tranquillity, demands that the suspicions which are entertained shall be removed if they are un-It is just to add that the Administration owes this to it self, as these inequalities fall most heavily upon those dis-tricts which have been opposed to its political views. I am sure that this fact will strengthen your purpose to see that justice is done. The enrollments are only completed in about one-half of the districts. The results were sent to me at intervals during the month of July, but wer only recently received by me, in consequence of my ab

I am confident that you will agree with me that the public interest in every respect will be promoted by affording the fullest evidence of the faithfulness and im partiality with which the conscription is conducted. the mean while large numbers are availing themselves of the bounties offered by the State and National Governments, and are voluntarily enlisting, thus mitigating the distress which a compulsory draft necessarily carries into the homes of our people. The State of New York offere liberal bounties to those who enlist.

I believe it will be found that the abandonment of volum tary enlistment for a forced conscription will prove to be unfortunate as a policy; that it will not secure either at many or so effective men as that system which one year since gave to this Government the largest army ever raise within so short a space of time by the voluntary action of

any people.

I do not propose to discuss in this connexion the reason why the people withhold the support heretofore so cheer fully rendered. Hereafter I shall make that the subject of another communication. But, assuming it to be due to the exhaustion of the number of these able to bear arms it would only proved how heavily the new demand falls upon the productive interest and labor of our country, and it makes another reason why the heavy burden of the and it makes another reason why the heavy burden of the conscription should be tempered by every act calculated to remove suspicions and to allay excitement. Above all, it should induce every effort to get voluntary enlistments, which fall less heavily upon the domestic happiness and business arrangements of our citigens. I ask that the draft may be suspended in this State, as has been done elsewhere, until we shall learn the results of recruiting which is now actively going on throughout the State, and particularly in the city of New York.

I am advised that large numbers are volunteering Whatever credit shall hereafter be allowed to this State just that the delinquent States should make up their defi-ciency before New York, which has so freely and gene-rously responded to the calls of the Government, shall be refused the opportunity to continue its voluntary support of the armies of the Union

There is another point which frequently excites the public mind, which has been brought to your attention by persons from this and other States. Our people have been taught that laws must be appled and respected at every cost taught that laws must be upheld and respected at every cost and sacrifice; that the "Conscription Act," which demands their persons and perhaps their lives, must be promptly obeyed, because it is a statute of our Government.

To support the majesty of law, a million of men have gone forth from Northern homes to the battle fields of the outh; more than three bundred thousand have been laid in bloody graves, or have perished in lingering disease. The guilt of the rebellion consists in raising an armed hand against constitutional or legal obligations. The soldier who has given up his life, the capitalist who has contrihave paid to the tax-gather the earnings of their toil, have cheerfully made these sacrifices, because they saw in the power of laws not only obligations to obedience, but protection to their rights, to their persons, and to their homes. It is this protection which alone gives value to govern-

It is believed by at least one-half of the people of the Loyal States that the conscription act, which they are called upon to obey because it stands upon the statute book, is in itself a violation of the supreme constitutional law. There is a fear and suspicion that, while they ar threatened with the severest penalties of the law, they are to be deprived of its protection. In the minds of the American people the duty of obedience and the right to protection are inseparable. If it is, therefore, proposed on the one hand to exact obedience at the point of the bayonet, and, upon the other hand, to shut off by military power all approach to our judicial tribunals, and to deny redress for wrongs, we have reason to fear the most ruious re-sults. These disasters may be produced as well by bring ing laws into contempt, and by a destruction of respect fo the decisions of courts, as by open resistance. This Government and our people have more to fear from an acquescence in the disorganizing teaching that war suspends their legal rights or destroys their legal remedy, than they have to fear from resistance to the doctaine that measures can be enforced without regard to the decisions

of judicial tribunals. The refusal of government to give protection excites citizens to disobedience The successful execution of the conscription act de pends upon the settlement, by judicial tribunals, of its constitutions lity. With such decisions in its favor it will have a hold upon the public respect and deference, which it now lacks. A refusal to submit it to this test will be regarded as evidence that it wants legality and binding force. A measure so unusual in the history of this country, which jars so harshly with those ideas of voluntary action which while this deplorable riot has brought disgrace upon the great city in which it occurred, it is due to the character of its would be considered in the control of the work of its work of the control of Government—the Legislative, the Executive, and the Ju-dicial. With such sanction it would overcome the hostility without aid from any other quarter; to save their pity, and to rescue their own and the Government property from the violence of a mob, at a critical moment, when they had sent their armed men to save the National Capital from falling into the hands of hostile arms. For this patrictic tions to the earliest practicable judicial decision upon this country to the property of the property of the property from the patrictic tions to the earliest practicable judicial decision upon this country of the property from th point. Our accustomed procedure gives to our citizens the right to bring all questions aff-cting personal liberty or compileors service, in a direct and summary manner, to the judges and courts of the State or nation. The decision which wou'd thus naturally be rendered within a brief pe riod, and, after full and ample discussion, would make such a current of judicial opinion as would satisfy the pub-

lic mind that the act is either valid or void. The right of the Government to enforce military service in any other mode than that pointed out by the Constituyou have on more than one occasion warmly acknowledged the generous and patriotic promptitude with which the city of New York has responded to calls made upon it by you in moments of sudden peril.

It is not there mode than that pointed out by the Constitution cannot be established by a violent enforcement of the statute. It must be determined ultimately by the judiciary you in moments of sudden peril.

Which must be destructive of so many lives. It would be which must be destructive of so many lives. It would be a cruel mockery to withhold such decision until after the irremediable is jury of its execution upon those who are unable to pay the sum demanded in lieu of their persons. Those who are able to commute might have their reme nencement of the present rebellion, and that they be so assigned as to equalize the number among the

would add new vigor to our system of government, and it furni hed a surplus, which entitles her to a credit upon the present draft. * This statement shows the population, the number be drafted, and the numbers of voters in the several Congressional Districts in which enrollments have been com-pleted, and of which reports have been made to this office

Draft. 1,767 1,838 2,088 2,015 YN DISTRIC

I send you tables which show these results, and I will also state here a few facts: The quota for the Fourth Congressional District, with a population of 131,844, is 5881. That fixed upon the Fifteenth Congressional District, with a population of 132,232, is only 2260. The quota upon the last-named district should exceed that of the city district, for the census returns show that there is a larger population of females and of aliens in the city of New York than in the country. If the comparison is made by the number of voters instead of the population, taking the last election, when the vote was very full, it will be teen that the call upon the city district is 5881, upon a vote of 12,363, while upon the country district it is only 260 upon a vote of 23,165. In two administrations and respect the rights of the people. The spirit of lawlessness in our land would be related; the rights of the people. The spirit of lawlessness in our land would be related; to the weaken of the entry-eight districts, including the twelve such before and still omitting three, for which I suppose the earch and still omiting three, for which I suppose the surface in our land would be related; confidence in our Government would be strengthened; the fort wenty-eight districts, including the twelve such before and still omiting three, for which I suppose the earch late North, which now weaken of twenty-eight districts, including the twelve such is decided up, and your voice would be privated; confidence in our Government would be strengthened; the North, which now weaken of twenty-eight districts, including the twelve such before and still omiting three, for which I suppose the earch of the weaken of twenty-eight districts, including the twelve such is the North, which now weaken of twenty-eight districts, I find that the quotas for such and such a fact of the people. The first man of them are not very eight districts, I find that the quotas for such and suc had a very high opinion after my reports to himself and the NEW YORK DRAFT.—IMPORTANT CORthe Navy Department, as well as the reports of most of the Object of the Object of the Object of the State.

Q. Was or not the attack made on the forts and batte
GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S LETTER

THE NEW YORK DRAFT.—IMPORTANT CORthe past, and the enrollments are excessive as compared with other sections of the State.

I send you tables which show these results, and I will also state here a few facts: The quota for the Fourth dence in our Government would be strengthened; the which represents the convictions of the people, which works with the spirit and provisions of the Constitution. It is no more possible, under such circumstances, that the nation should be left in helplessness, than that the strong man's arm should refuse to obey his will. If this bill, which stands on the assumed right of Congress to pass such an act, shall fall to the ground, there is still left the undisputed authority to call forth the armed power of the nation in the manner distinctly set forth in the Consti-

tution of our country.

I do not dwell upon what I believe would be the consequence of a violent, harsh policy before the constitutional ty of the act is tested. You can sean the immediate future as well as I. The temper of the people to day you can readily learn by consulting, as I have done, with men of all political parties, and of every profession and occupation The nation's strength is in the hands of the peo-ple. Es range them, divide them, and the foundations fall,

the structure must perish.

I am confident you will feel that acquiescence in my requests will be but a small concession for our Government to make to our people; and particularly that it should assure itself and them of the accordance of its subordinate laws with the supreme law of the land. It will be but a little price to any for the peace of the public mind. It little price to pay for the peace of the public mind. It will abate nothing from the dignity, nothing from the sovereignty of the nation, to show a just regard for the majesty laws, and a paternal interest in the wishes and wel fare of our citizens. Truly yours, &c. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

> THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY. EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Washington, August 7, 1863.

His Excellency Horario Seymour, Governor of N. Y.

Your communication of the 2d Your communication of the 3d instant has been received

and attentively considered.

I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York as you request, because, among other things, time is too im-

By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall into two classes, of eight and four respectively. The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2,200 in one class and 4,864 in the other Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more per-sons fit for soldiers are in the city than are in the country who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe to be included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great dispurity.

I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first from each of the four districts,

to wit: the Second, Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth, only 2,200, being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing these four districts, and also the Seventeenth and Twenty-ninth, shall be carefully re-enrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may appear by the new en-rollment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the interval. And at all points, so far as consistent with practical convenience, due credit will be given for volunteers, and your Excel-lency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing

the draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the Judges thereof, on the constitu-tionality of the draft law. In fact, I shall be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every ablebodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the volunteer system, already deemed by Congress, and palpshly in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the ser vice to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal propor-

we get those who are not to go.

My purpose is, to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN. ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM GOV. SEYMOUR. ALBANY, AUGUST 8, 1863.
To the President of the United States: I received your communication of the 7th instant this

your refusal to comply with my requ st to have the draft in this State suspended until it can be ascertained if the enrollments are made in accordance with the law of Con-gress, or with the principles of justice. I know that our army needs recruits, and for this and other reasons I regret a decision which stands in the way of a prompt and cheerful novement to fill up the thinned ranks of New York has never paused in its efforts to send volun

our galiant soldiers in the field. It has not only met every call heretofore made (while every other Atlantic and the New England States, except Rhode Island, were delinquent.) but it continued liberal boun ties to volunteers when all efforts were suspended in many other quarters. Active exertions are now made to or ganize the new and fill up the old regiments. These exerions will'be more successful if the draft were suspended, and much better men than reluctant conscripts would

join our armies.
On the 7th instant I advised you by letter that I would furnish the strongest proof of the injustice, if not fraud, in the enrollment in certain districts. I now send you a full report made to me by Judge Advocate Waterbury.

I am confident when you have read it that you will agree
with me that the honor of the nation and of your administration demands that the abuses it points out should be

You say that we are contending with an enemy who, as you understand, "drives every able-bodied man he can reach into the ranks very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen." You will agree with me that even this, if impartiality done to all classes, is more tolerable than any scheme which shall fraudulently force a portion of the community into military service by a dishonest per-

You will see by the report of Mr. Waterbury that there is no theory which can explain or justify the enrollment in this State. I wish to call your attention to the tables on pages 5, 6, 7, and 8, which show that in nine Congressional districts, in Manhattan, Long and Staten Islands, the number of conscripts called for is 33,729, while in nineteen other districts the number of conscripts called for is only 39,626. This draft is to be made from the first class, those between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. It appears by the census of 1:30 that in the first nine Congressional districts there were 164,797 males between twenty and thirty-five; they are called upon to supply 33 729 conscripts. In the other nineteen districts, with a population of males between twenty and thirty-five of 270,786, only 69,626 are demanded.

Again, to show the partisan character of the evrollment, you will find on the twenty-first page of the military coport, that in the first nine Congressional districts the total vote of 1860 was 151,243. The number of conscripts now demanded is 33,729. In the nineteen other districts the demanded is 33,729. In the nineteen other districts are called upon to furnish only 39,626 drafted men. Each of the nine districts gave majorities in favor of one political party, and each of the nineteen districts gave majorities You cannot and will not fail to right these gress wrongs.

Truly yours, HORATIO SEYMOUR.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT. EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, August 11, 1863.

His Excellency Horatio Seymour, Governor New York: Yours of the 8th, with Judge Advocate General Wateroury's report, was received to-day.

Asking you to remember that I consider time as being very important, both to the general cause of the country and to the soldiers already in the field, I beg to remind you that I waited, at your request, from the 1st to the 6th instant, to receive your communication dated the 3d. In view of its great length and the known time and apparent care taken in its preparation, I did not doubt that it contained your full case as you desired to present it. It contained your full case as you desired to present it. It contained figures for twelve districts, omitting the other nine
States, at Richmond, this first day of August, in the year teen, as I supposed, because you found nothing to com-plain of as to them. I answered accordingly. In doing so I laid down the principle to which I propose adhering, which is, to proceed with the draft, at the same time employing infallible means to avoid any great wrongs.

eighteenth, twenty-second, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh-twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth districts. In the others, except the three outstanding, the drawing will be made upon the quotas as now fixed.

After the first draft, the second, fourth, fifth, sixth,

seventh, eighth, sixteenth, seventsenth, twenty-first, twenty fifth, twenty ninth, and thirty-first will be re-enrolled purpose and in the manner stated in my letter of the 7th instant. The same principle will be applied to the now outstand-

ing districts when they shall come in.

No part of my former letter is repudiated by reason of not being re stated in this, or for any other cause. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL AND THE NEGRO REGIMENTS.

Our readers have seen it announced in a great many places and in a great many ways that Adjutant General Thomas has again proceeded on "a tour to the Southwest to organize more neg o regiments." During his former tour on the same errand he visited many posts and made many speeches to different regiments, but, if we may trust the concurrent accounts of the Chicago Times and of the Boston Commonwealth, he did not succeed in enlisting as many hundreds of negroes as he was represented to have enrolled thousands "Skeleton regiments" were formed but they were not filled for a want of material to fill them. The Cincinneti Commercial, an Administration paper, comments as follows on the reiterated announcement that Adjutant General Thomas "is going West to organize more negro regiments:"

"We do not wish to obtrude advice, but we do wish to we do not wish to obtrude advice, but we do wish to suggest, in the kindliest manner in the world, to the Adjutant General, that his elequence is 'played out.' The troops at all the landings along the Mississippi river have heard him as often as profitable. They do not wish, in the fature, to stand in hollow squares and hear his discourse on 'that unfortunate race.' Several of them course on 'that unfortunate race.' Several of them know as much about that unfortunate race as he does. Then it is not worth while for him to tell every body he meets that the President has vested in him the fullness of authority—that, in fact, he is to be obeyed just as impli-citly as if he were the President's own pantaloons; that citly as if he were the President's own pantaloons; that he can make and unmake Major Generals, and all that sort of thing. We are willing to recognize the fact that Adjutant General Thomas is a great man, and has very great authority, if he will stop talking about it.

"We trust that the Adjutant General will succeed in organizing, arming, clothing, and dr.lling one hundred thousand contrabands. But if he succeeds in doing it, he must talk less and nork more Since we are embarked in the business of raising black troops, the more we have of them the better, and the quicker we get them the better. There is a fine field for employing them along the Mississippi river. They would answer admirably to perform garrison du'y in localities unhealthy for white men, and they wou'd do well to bunt down guerrilias in the swamps. It has also been shown at Port Hudson, Miliiken's Bend, and Fort Wagner, that black troops will face the music in a heavy fight, and charge batteries with creditable bravery, if not with distinguished success. Success to Adjutant General Thomas in getting up an army of one hundred thousand negroes! But we have a bint to drop into the ear of the Adjutant General. It is none of business whether white soldiers approve or disapprove the 'fixed policy' concerning the negroes. It is no breach of discipline for a body of troops to refuse to give cheers for whatever the Adjutant General may call for and if he told the truth in his phonographically reported sick-bed speech, of the manner in which he treated a regiment when he was first out West, because some of the men did not give three cheers when he called for them, he was guilty of a very serious, indiscreet and unofficer-like and mighty as he is, clothed with immeasureable authority, be of greater profit to his country, than to concentrate his powers upon the performance of the legitimate business in which he is engaged.

ADDRESS OF GEN. JEFF. DAVIS.

The Richmond Examiner of the 5th instant contains the following address of Gen. Jefferson Davis to the "Soldiers of the Confederate States :"

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES. led in the number, magnitude, and fearful carnage of its battles; a warfare in which your courage and fortitude have illustrated your country and attracted not only gratitude at home, but admiration abroad, your enemies conti-nue a struggle in which our final triumph must be mevi-table. Unduly clated with their recent succ sees, they imagine that temporary reverses can quell your spirit or shake your determination, and they are now gathering beavy marses for a general invasion in the vain hope that by a desperate effort success may at length be reached.

You know too well, my countrymen, what they mean by success. Their malignant rage aims at nothing least than the extermination of yourselves, your wives and children. They seek to destroy what they cannot plunder. They propose as the spoils of victory that your homes shall be partitioned among the wretches whose atrocious cruelty have stamped intamy on their Government. They design to incite servile insurrection and light the fires of incentiarism whenever that was read the conditions whenever they are read the conditions. cendiarism whenever they can reach your homes, and they debauch the inferior race, heretofore docile and contented by promising indulgence of the vilest passions as the price of treachery. Conccious of their inability to prevail by leg-timate warfare, not daring to make peace lest they should be harled from their seats of power, the men who now rule in Wastington refuse even to confer on the subject of putting an end to outrages which disgrace our age, or to list n to a suggestion for conducting the war accord-

ing to the usages of civilization.

Fell w-citizens, no alternative is left you but victory or subjugation, slavery and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families, and your country. The victory is within your reach. You need but stretch forth your hands to grasp it. For this and all that is necessary is that those who called to the field by every motive that can move the human heart, should promptly repair to the post of duty, should stand by their comrades now in front of the foe, and thus so strengthen the armies of the Confederacy as to ensure success. The men now absent from their posts would, if present in the field, suffice to create numerical equality between our force and that of the invaders; and when, with any approach to such equality, have we failed to be victorious? I believe that but few of those absent are actuated by unwillingness to serve their country; but that many have found it difficult to resist the temptation of a visit to their homes and the loved ones from whom they have been so long separated; that others have left for temporary attent on to their affairs with the intention of returning, and then have shrunk from the consequences of their violation of duty; that others, again, have left their posts from mere restlessness and desire of change, such quieting the upbraidings of his conscience by persuading imself that his individual services could have no influence on the general result.

on the general result.

These and other causes (although far less disgraceful than the desire to avoid danger, or to escape the sa rifices required by patriotism) are, nevertheless, grievous faults, and place the cause of our beloved country, and of every thing we hold dear, in imminent peril. I repeat that the men who now owe duty to their country, who have been called out and have not yet reported for duty, or who have absented themselves from their posts, are sufficient in number to secure a victory in the struggle now impending. I call upon you then, my countrymen, to hasten to your

I call upon you then, my countrymen, to hasten to your camps, in obedience to the dictates of honor and of duty, and summon those who have absented themselves without eave or who have remained ab ent beyond the period allowed by their furloughs, to repair without delay to their respective commands, and I do hereby declare that I grant a general pardon and amnesty to all officers and men within the Confederacy, now absent without leave, who shall, with the least residue described. with the confederacy, now absent without leave, where you will be least possible delay, return to their proper posts of duty, but no excuse will be received for any delay beyond twenty days after the first publication of this proclamation in the State in which the absentee may be at the data of this publication. This amnesty and pardon shall extend to all who have been accused, or who have been convicted and are undergoing sentence for absence with out leave or desertion, excepting only those who have been

States, at Richmond, this first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

JEFFERSON DAVIS. By the President:

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.